

THE
Irish and vol 20 5.
NECESSITY

OF

Tillage and Granaries.

IN A

LETTER

TO A

Member of PARLIAMENT

Living in the County of _____

*In qua terra culturam agri docuerunt pastores progeniem
suam, qui condiderunt urbem: ibi contra progenies eorum,
propter avaritiam, contra leges, ex segetibus fecit prata,
ignorantes non idem esse agriculturam & pastionem.
Varro de Re Rustica, lib. 2.*

D U B L I N:

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THE NECESSITY

O F

Tillage *and* Granaries.

S I R,

YOUR entreaties are no longer to be resisted. I will now send you, in writing, the substance of what past between us some years ago on the subject of Tillage. This I shall do the more willingly, because the distresses of two dear years, added to those I then argued from, will probably procure what I shall say a favourable hearing. Besides, I have reason to think, that as the nation is now become more sensible of the necessity of Tillage, and as a bill, I hear, is preparing in favour of it, you and your friends, may, by the help of such reasonings, as I shall lay before you, be induced to second a design, on which I hope to shew, that both the encrease of your own private fortune, and the welfare of your country depend. On the first of those points I shall speak to you as the possessor of a large estate in land; and on the second, as a representative and guardian of your country.

I believe your estate including both your rents, and the profits of such grounds, as you hold in your own hands, yields you about 2000*l.* yearly. The whole, excepting some very inconsiderable patches, is grazed by black cattle, mostly barren, and sheep.

If I can shew you, Sir, that the same estate, under Tillage, might produce you, and your tenants at the rate of three and an half to one, more than it does at present under pasturage, I hope what I shall say, will neither seem tedious nor disagreeable to you. Tho' people are generally prejudiced in favour of such methods as they have grown up, and prospered tolerably in, yet if other methods can be shewn to be attended with a much greater profit, no prejudice is strong enough to hinder a rational man from quitting his old ones and going over to the new.

Let us, if you please, Sir, suppose 36 acres of your rich and strong ground to be employed in grazing for five years, and let us see what would be the neat profit, which wou'd arise out of the said ground during the time mentioned.

There are three kinds of grazing usually practiced in this kingdom, that of milch cattle, that of dry cows and bullocks, and that of sheep.

As to the first; 27 acres *Irish* measure will graze 21 cows, and the remaining 9 acres will furnish them with hay. These 21 cows will produce 21 calves in the year, value 12 12 0

They will likewise produce besides suckling their calves, 21 hundred of butter which at 1*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.* per hundred come to 23 02 0

The buttermilk of the 21 cows, will be worth in the year 19 16 0

 55 10 0

As some of the cows may happen to cast their calves, others miss bulling, and be liable to several other accidents that may occasion a diminution of the milk, we may allow in lieu thereof the winter's milk.

The profits of one year being 55 10 0 the profits of the 5 years will be 277 10 0

Out

Out of the above sum of 277 10 0 we must deduct for the maintainance of a family to manage the dairy 19 12 5 yearly, which in 5 years comes to 98 02 1. The remaining neat profits will be 179 07 11.

The second kind of grazing, namely of dry cows and bullocks.

36 cows bought at *May*, and sold at *All Saints* for 1*l.* per cow profit— 36 00 0

Out of which if we deduct for buying selling, and herding, the sum of— 1 12 6

The remainder will be— 34 07 6

The clear profits for 5 years will be— 171 17 6

The expences and profits in respect to bullocks, need not be computed, being nearly the same with those in the case of dry cows, only as the profits arising from bullocks are generally thought to be a small matter less than from dry cows, I have therefore chosen to rest in the latter.

It will here be observed that I have allowed nothing for the winter's grass. In this I have acted by the opinion of the most experienced Drovers, who think they rather gain than lose by not trampling those pastures in the wet seasons, nor grazing them in the spring, on which they intend to fatten cattle the following summer. If we should allow a fifth penny of the rent for the winter's grass; in this case, the grounds being grazed and trodden in the winter, will not be able to fatten at the rate of a cow *per* acre the next summer; and so twice as much will be lost in summer, as gained in the winter.

As to the last kind of grazing, to wit, of sheep, it is very difficult to form a regular computation of the profits arising from thence. After having consulted with many persons skilled in that kind of cattle, and finding they differed widely in their sentiments, as to the removal of them from one kind of

ground to another, as to the cost occasioned by disorders, as to the haying and wintering them, and as to the uncertainty of the price which wool bears in different years, I resolved to put the matter upon another footing. You know the profits of sheep as well as most men. I have therefore the less occasion to be particular in this letter on that article. I shall take a shorter and a surer way.

Strong and rank grounds are not quite so fit for sheep-walks, as those that are a degree lighter, and produce finer grass. Now it is for the tillage of strong grounds, chiefly, that I contend. And as to wet grounds, which usually throw up an harsh and sower sort of herbage, they are very unfit for sheep. But were they drained and cultivated, they wou'd often produce the richest crops of any kind of soil. Sheep and Tillage ought not therefore greatly to interfere.

But supposing the ground to be equally fit for Tillage, and grazing of all kinds; the profits arising from sheep cou'd not be much higher than those from black cattle; because now they are considerably higher, every one wou'd stock his grounds with sheep, provided they were in the least fit for the purpose. A great advantage, were there such, wou'd soon be perceived and generally pursued. But as on different parcels of the same ground, we frequently see droves of black cattle and flocks of sheep, and those too often belonging to persons equally well skilled in both, and sometimes to the same man, we may be sure the profits on both sides are nearly upon a par.

In the county of *Louth*, and great part of the county of *Meath*, those grounds, which were formerly stocked with sheep are now converted to Tillage. This the inhabitants of those counties learned from their neighbours in the *North*. They know by this time, whether they have reason to repent or rejoice.

joice in what they have done. But this every one knows, that they go on plowing, and producing such crops as hinder them from ever thinking of returning to pasturage. The counties of *Dublin* and *Kildare* are taking the useful hint from *Louth* and *Meath*. I hope it will go further.

But though from the above way of reasoning, in which we can scarcely be mistaken, it follows that the profits of black cattle and sheep are nearly equal, yet to cut matters short I will allow those of sheep to exceed so much, that the 36 acres above-mentioned shall produce yearly 2*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* more under sheep than they can under black cattle. Now the highest profit in black cattle being 179*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* the highest in sheep will be 189*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* This allowance I make to prevent all objections, and cavels, which I am sure it will do among the candid and skilful.

The whole profits then of 36 acres, *Irish* measure, of good and strong ground under sheep for 5 years will be 189*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.*

Having done more than justice to pasturage, I come now in like manner to lay before you the expences and profits of the same 36 acres of strong and rich ground under tillage for five years.

○ Your lands would very well bear to be plowed at the rate of once in two years. In the county of *Down*, where the soil is generally but shallow and poor, the farmer usually plows two thirds of his land. Surely then such land as yours may very well bear to be plowed at the rate of one half. But supposing one third only to be kept always under tillage, and the course of tillage to run for five years, the cultivated third will produce as follows.

Expences

*Expences for five years in the tillage of 12 acres
Irish measure of good and rich ground in the North.*

1st year for a crop of wheat.			
For three plowings and two harrowings, at 15s. per acre 9l.	l.	s.	d.
Or if a fourth plowing is necessary 3l. more to be added. For seed wheat 12 barrels at 15s. per barrel 9l.			
For reaping 3l.			
In all	—	—	24 0 0
2d year for a crop of oats.			
For plowing and harrowing 4l. 16s.			
For seed oats 27 barrels at 4s. 8d. per barrel 6l. 6s.			
For reaping 2l. 8s.			
In all	—	—	13 10 0
3d year for ditto	—	—	13 10 0
4th year for a crop of flax.			
For two plowings and harrowing 7l. 4s.			
For flax-seed 12 barrels at 1l. 8s. per barrel 16l. 16s.			
In all	—	—	24 4 0
Total of expences	—	—	75 4 0

*Profits arising from the above 12 acres in 5 years
under tillage.*

2d year a crop of wheat.	l.	s.	d.
For 96 barrels of wheat at 15s. per barrel	72	0	0
3d year a crop of oats.			
For 252 barrels at 4s. 8d. per barrel	58	16	0
4th year ditto.	—	—	58 16 0
5th year a crop of flax.			
For flax sold on the foot at 7l. 10s per acre	90	0	0
Total of profits	—	—	279 12 0
Out of which if we deduct the expences amounting to	—	—	75 4 0
The remaining profits of tillage will be	204	8	0
Further if the tythe of the grain be deducted, viz.	—	—	18 19 2
The neat profit will be	—	—	185 8 10
			Thus

Thus it appears, Sir, that the 12 acres in tillage will yield within 3 *l.* 19 *s.* 1 *d.* as much as the whole 36 acres under pasturage, so that all the profits arising out of the 24 acres under pasturage is clear gains to the husbandman over and above what the drover could possibly make out of the whole 36 acres.

You are to note here, Sir, that I suppose all the labour of men and horses, required in the above scheme of tillage, to be hired in, and have charged it against the husbandman's profits accordingly.

It is usually objected to those who argue for Tillage, by the gentlemen whose estates are grazed, that tho' a much greater produce may be raised out of the ground by tillage, than by grazing, yet as the Tillage of even a small farm cannot be carried on without a family, the maintainance of such family will run away with the overplus profit, and so the landlord will be never the richer.

In answer to this I will now shew, Sir, that the maintainance of the family is not taken out of the produce in tillage, but is obtained another way.

The maintainance of a farmer's family consisting of six persons, four of whom are able to work, during one year. And first for their food.

To 40 bushels of shelling, each bushel	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
of which will yield 45 pounds in			
clean meal, and equal to five pounds			
in seeds for flummery, which alto-			
gether would bake into 60 pound of			
bread. This at 3 shillings <i>per</i> bushel			
amounts to	6	0	0
To 52 bushels of potatoes at 12 pence			
<i>per</i> bushel	2	12	0
To 6 quarts a-day of buttermilk or skim-			
milk at a penny each day	1	10	5
			To

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To 1 hundred of skim-milk cheese	0	8	4
To 1 hundred of butter and do. of salt	1	4	8
To an ordinary carcase of beef	1	0	0
To firing and hearthmoney	1	10	0
To 2 roods of ground, digging, sowing, planting, weeding, and seeds, for a garden	0	12	0
	14	17	5

Note here, that good part of the above is yearly saved by pottage made of whey, by lenten pottage, by flink, or unthriving calves, by sheep likely to rot, by fowl and pigs fed with whey and scattered corn.

Their cloathing is as follows.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards of country cloath or frize at 12 pence per yard, which will make suits for two men, to trimming and making. —	1	10	0
To 8 pair of brogues, and four pair of stockings for two men by the year. —	0	13	0
To 13 yards of linnen at 8 pence per yard for 4 shirts, and to making, and to 2 hats for the two men in the year. — — — —	0	12	0
As an ordinary gown and petticoat is cheaper than a man's suit, and lasts much longer, and as farmers wives seldom wear any shoes or stockings at home, and as the cloaths of the children are usually made up of old things, we may allow for the cloathing of the women and children the same as for that of the men. —	2	15	0

Total for food and cloathing —	20	7	5
	People,		

People in high life may think the above diet too poor or scanty; yet to such people as I have been speaking of, it is a sort of luxury. That it is how ever sufficient appears by this, that every where in the North the journeymen weavers are dieted at 18, 20, or 21 pence per week, as is well known; and those who diet them, would not do it unless they gained by it.

To make it further appear how sufficient the above allowance in diet is, let it be considered that a farmer, who has 8 cows gains at the calving of every cow 8 milkings of beefings, which boiled will make near a months food in the year for the family. This with eggs, the produce of the garden, &c. will make up a plenty which such people seldom allow themselves.

And as to the allowance for cloaths, it will likewise appear sufficient from this, that servants are cloathed decently on 7 or 8 shillings wages per quarter, and often save so much as to keep themselves some months out of service.

On the other side, let us now see how the farmer can enjoy such a plenty without living on the crop or at the landlords expence.

It is known that flax of our own produce sells at about a groat a pound, and foreign flax at about six pence. A woman will spin about a dozen of 3 dozen yarn in the day. The two women then will spin 2 dozens in the day, which will sell for 11 pence, out of which if we take 3 pence for the flax the remaining 8 pence make 4 shillings per week, which in the year is ———— 10 8 0

We may allow the two men, who are able to work, that sum which we allowed for plowing and harrowing for the first year of Tillage ———— 9 0 0

This

This labour will be finished in about 4 months.

As these men have their victuals from home, let them be allowed to labour abroad during the other 8 months at 6 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per day, which is 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per day less than is allowed for labour in the former account; or if they can't find labour, let them turn their hands to some manufacture, that will bring them in so much, which will amount to

Total profit arising from the work of	11	5	4
the family	30	13	4
Out of which sum if we deduct the expences of maintaining such a family	20	7	5
The family will then, besides maintaining themselves, have earned the clear sum of	10	5	11

Which will be sufficient for buying a plow, and plow tackle, little household furniture, and paying for the feeding of the horses during the four months they are employed in the labour of the farm. As to their feeding during the rest of the year, if they are hired out they will earn more than will feed them the whole year round.

It may be here objected, that both the men and women, will of necessity, be sometimes called off to other work, such as child bearing, nursing, milking, churning, pulling and handling flax, and that the mens work, as mentioned above, does not continue thro' the whole year.

As to child-bearing and nursing, it is allowed some loss of time must be suffered on those accounts; yet this will not be considerable. Such women are so inured to cold and labour, that in lying in they won't lose near a fortnight, especially as their work is mostly within doors. A new born child sleeps most

most of the first three months, and it is the practice of their mothers to hold the child on the left knee, while they spin with their right hand. This such women would not do for a mistress; but the industrious always do it for themselves. But if the women go to other kinds of work, their labour must be as gainful as spinning, otherwise they would not quit the wheel for it. For instance, if they go to foot or win turf, their firing then, instead of standing them in 1*l.* 10*s.* costs them no more than bog-rent. If they pull and handle flax, and the men plow and harrow the ground for it, then the flax stands them only in the ground-rent and seed. So that what yarn soever is by these works left unspun, more than an equal value, is gained in the turf, flax, and other work. As to the mens wanting work in winter, and as to their hiring in work in harvest-time, tho' they be not plowing nor reaping, yet they have their corn to thresh out, they may have marl to raise, sand and dung to draw, drains to cut, and ditches to make. Now these things will keep them pretty busy, and will increase the produce of the ground greatly above the value of their labour. For instance, if by laying on of marl, sand, or dung, that field is made to produce a crop of barley, which otherwise would have produced only oats, will not the difference of the crop more than doubly pay for their labour? Or should ditches be made, will they not save herding, drain the ground, make shelter for the corn and cattle, and raise timber trees for the benefit of the landlord, as well as for the ornament of his estate? Or if more hands than the two men are wanting to cut down the corn, they will rarely need to hire others, because their own women will do as well, and will then change their spinning at 4 pence per day for reaping at 7 pence. It is true the farmer will probably take his shelling, butter, potatoes, milk, &c. out of his own farm; but if he does, will not his labour and his wife's and daughter's yarn raise

raise as much money for the landlord, as if those things were sold to another, and the money laid out for necessaries? Either way it is alike to the landlord. Should the family be fewer than six, more labour must be hired from abroad, but the family will live upon proportionably less. If the family be more than six, their labour will produce more than their maintainance; It certainly will; how otherwise could farmers in the North sit down upon 30 or 40 acres of midling land at 9 or 10 shillings an acre, pay their rent well, make publick roads and perhaps cut and draw their landlord's corn and turf, and after all afford to live much better than the above allowance, wear decent and comfortable cloaths, make feasts now and then, and give little portions to their children of 5, 10, 15 or 20 pounds each?

It may likewise be objected, that I have here made no allowance for the ground taken up by a farm house and offices, the open space round such houses, and the ditches, nor for carrying home the grain, threshing, winnowing, and carrying to market. As to the spaces of ground lost by the ditches, &c. they will go near to pay for themselves.

The timber they will produce, the shelter they will afford to the corn against winds, and to the cattle in bad weather, will make up to the husbandman what he loses by them in the measure of his ground. But the garden if tolerably managed, will fully pay for all the ground taken up by the houses and ditches. And as to the above expences in threshing, &c. they are very small. The after-grass, and the straw, which he may afford to sell, after thatching his houses, will trebly pay such expences. Besides, tho' I have allowed the tythes, and all other demands, on account against the husbandman, I have charged the dealers in cattle with nothing for milches, for the tenth fleece, nor in short for any ecclesiastical demand or modus.

You

You may observe, Sir, that in the above calculation, I have given all imaginable advantages to the dealers in cattle; whereas, in respect to Tillage I have supposed the farm to be possessed and managed by a poor family, who, tho in a year or two they may grow rich, and afford to live much better, than by the foregoing allowance, and to give their ground more labour, and manure, yet at first they can do little more, than manage in the manner mentioned. I have therefore supposed them to proceed as the poor ignorant, *Irish* farmers do in the *North*, by a cheap and unskillful scheme of Tillage to a low and moderate profit. Yet low as it is, twelve acres of ground under such a sort of Tillage produces a neat and clear profit equal to that of 36 acres of the same ground under the most profitable kind of pasturage, managed with the greatest skill. It is a pleasure to me to be supported in this by the calculation, which the ingenious *Arthur Dobbs* Esq; published some years ago, and in which he makes the profits of Tillage to those of Pasturage as three to one.

But I will now proceed to shew you, Sir, that if we suppose a skilful and substantial farmer, to possess the above 36 acres of good ground he will be able by better management, and even with less expence and labour, to raise a much greater produce in Tillage.

The expences and profits of 36 acres *Irish* measure, of rich and strong ground, 12 of which are always under Tillage.

The expences

First year for a crop of Flax

To plowing and harrowing one acre
 8 shillings 6 pence, to seed for the same
 6 bushels at 7 shillings per bushel 2 pound
 2 shillings, twenty Women for pulling
 the Flax, 10 shillings, for beating out
 the Seed, 6 shillings, for watering and
 spreading

spreading on the grass 2 shillings, for
breaking and buffing 4 pound 13 shillings
4 pence, in all for one acre 8 pound
1 shilling, 10 pence for 12 acres ——— 97 02 0

First year for a crop of Wheat

For fallowing the 12 acres by three
plowings and 2 harrowings 9 pound, for
seed 12 barrels at 15 shillings per barrel,
9 pound, for reaping 3 pound, in
all ——— 24 00 0

Third year for a crop of potatoes

The expence at six pence per perch
in the old way for dung, seed and la-
bour would amount to 1 pound 12
shillings. But I will suppose the pota-
toes set with the plough as follows.

To the first two plowings of one acre
10 shillings, to the harrowing 1 shilling
6 pence, to 10 men and 2 horses for the
setting and third plowing 6 shillings, to
three other plowings 6 shillings, to seed
12 bushels 12 shillings, to dung one
pound 10 shillings, for carrying out the
dung 4 shillings, in all for one acre
3 pound 9 shillings 6 pence, for the
whole 12 acres ——— 41 14 0

Fourth year for a crop of Barley.

To plowing and harrowing 3 pound 12
shillings, 12 barrels of seed at 6 shillings
per barrel 3 pound 12 shillings, to reap-
ing 2 pound 8 shillings, in all ——— 09 12 0

Fifth year for a crop of Oats.

To plowing and harrowing 4 pound
16 shillings, seed 27 barrels at 4 shillings
8 pence per barrel 6 pound 6 shillings,

To reaping 2 pound 8 shillings, in
all ——— 13 10 0

Total of expences. ——— 185 18 0

The

(17)

The produce

First year's Flax sold in the market after breaking and buffing at 70 stone *per* acre, and at 5 shillings *per* stone, comes in all to

210 00 0

For 12 bushels of Flax-seed at 5 shillings *per* bushel, 3 pound *per* acre, in the whole 12 pound

036 00 0

Total produce of Flax

246 00 0

Second year

For 96 barrels of Wheat at 15 shillings *per* barrel

072 00 0

Third year.

If the potatoes of the whole 12 acres, in the old way by digging, were sold at 12 pence *per* peatch, each peatch being 2 yards in width, they would bring 224 pounds. Now I will only charge them at the same rate, tho' potatoes set by the plow are allowed to yield a fourth or fifth, more than by the spade

224 00 0

Fourth year.

For 216 barrels of barley at 6s *per* barrel

64 16 00

Fifth year.

For 252 barrels of oats at 4 shillings and 8 pence *per* barrel

58 16 0

Total profits.

665 12 0

The flax paying only 6 pence in lieu of Tythe, and the Tythe of potatoes being every where disputed, in few places recovered by law, and where they are recovered, so difficult to be secured, I have allowed nothing for the same; but have charged the full tenth of what the grain is sold for in the market, which is more than the person can demand at the time of sowing.

019 11 0

B

To

To this if we add the expences of the
Tillage. 185 18 0

The whole will be. 205 09 0

Which being subtracted from the above sum of 665 pound 12 shillings,

there remains 460 03 0

As the whole 36 acres under a dairy produced the sum of 277 pound 10 shillings in 5 years, we must here add 2 thirds of said sum to the profits arising from the Tillage of the 12 acres ---- 185 00 0

The neat produce then of the whole 36 acres, 12 of which are always under Tillage, and the other 24 grazed, will be 645 03 0

If we deduct the sum of 189 pound 7 shillings 11 pence 189 07 11

Which was the highest profit in pasturage from the 645 pound 3 shillings the highest produce in Tillage, the balance on the side of Tillage will be — 455 15 1

The produce now in Tillage compared with that of grazing, is nearly as 21 to 6, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1

You may observe, Sir, that I have made the profits of the 24 acres, which the husbandman may keep lay for the grazing his milk and plough cattle, to be equal to those of the same number, grazed for a Dairy: Which they certainly will be, provided that along with the last crop, which is oats, he sows a sufficient quantity of common grass-feed, and lays down his ground judiciously. The longer ground lies lay, the closer and stiffer it grows, the grass becomes finer and shorter, and in meadows particularly

larly, that have not been broken up of a long time, the grass is oppressed with moss. For this I know no other remedy but Tillage, after which a most rank and luxurious crop of grass may be obtained even the first year, if to supply the want of grass-roots, grass-seed be timely sown: The fields of an unskilful husbandman appearing, after a course of Tillage, almost quite uncovered with grass, it is imagined by many that the ground is so run out of heart that it cannot bear grass, but this is a most gross mistake. The ground is much fitter for the purpose, than before it was broken up, only the roots of the grass being all destroyed, it is impossible for it to produce that, of which it has neither root nor seed.

There are other courses of Tillage, Sir, besides the former, for the husbandman to change to, according as his ground, or the seasons may require; and those no less profitable. Besides, were the art of Tillage a little better known among us, a still greater produce might be obtained from our fruitful grounds, than that which I have mentioned. In *England* they know so much more of this matter than we do, that they frequently raise as profitable a crop out of a shallow, as out of a deep soil: a stiff clay is compelled to yield as fruitful a produce as the finest mold: I had almost said that by their management a barren soil is as beneficial as a fruitful. They have proper instruments of Tillage for all sorts of grounds, nor are they less careful to adapt the seed to the soil. By these means their work goes on much easier and their crops come with greater certainty and plenty.

But I need not go quite so far for instances of this kind. In the County of *Meath* and some parts of *Louth*, tho' thro' the uniformness of the soil they have little occasion for variety of methods in Tillage, yet they manage so well, that of the same parcel of ground, they have always one third under

winter grain, another under spring grain, and the other third under fallows. They set apart a small parcel of their worst grounds for grazing their milch and plough cattle, and all the rest is, from year to year, without any intermission, treated in the above manner. No length of time exhausts the vigour of their ground. They pay, generally speaking, twenty shillings an acre for it, good and bad, and therefore cannot afford to let it be idle, and take crops of grass from it, in lieu of wheat and barley.

You will be pleased to observe, Sir, that all the labour of men and horses is, by the above calculation, supposed to be hired in at the dearest rates; whereas an husbandman, who can maintain servants and horses of his own, will save a good deal in that article. Besides, if the plowing were performed with bullocks, the whole labour of horses would be clearly saved, because the bullocks, after plowing for two or three years, will sell for more than their keeping came to.

Upon the whole, as the above calculation is the result of much considering and debating among persons extremely well skilled in both pasturage and Tillage, whom I consulted with on this occasion, I am confident it is prepared to stand the severest examination, provided it be a candid one. However I don't desire you should depend on me alone in this; lay my computation before skilful persons, and desire them candidly to give you their opinion of it. Such persons will not disdain to descend to the mean particulars, which I have been obliged to dwell on; because they know the merits of this, as well as of all other points, depend on, and must be traced to their first simple principles, which are no other than the expences and gains of the farmer.

It is further worth observing, that as vast quantities of the best ground in the kingdom, and a
good

good deal of yours, pay no tythe of grain, and as in many places grafs and hay are actually tythed, and if some old laws could be put in force, would be tythed every where, so the charge in my computation against the farmer for tythes, ought in many places, to be relaxed in respect to him and his landlord, and those of hay and grafs, or at least, the modulus for milches, hay, &c. ought to be charged against the grazier. Tho' this is a very material consideration in favour of Tillage, yet I have left it, and many other such advantages, out of my comparison, partly because they cou'd not be easily computed, and partly because I had advantages enough without them.

It is commonly objected to tillage that abundance of grain is lost, one year with another, by mildews, winds, lodging, the cutworm, vermin, &c. But more stress is laid on this objection than reason will allow of. Even in the North, where the weather is more brittle, where they have more rain and wind, and where the harvest, coming in later, is thrown into a more uncertain season, the careful husbandman, who cultivates a good piece of ground, can *communibus annis* produce such crops as are mentioned above. In your country, Sir, the middle grounds having more strength in them than the best in the North, will not only produce larger crops, but will give them a strength more sufficient to resist the injuries of the weather. Besides as you lie two degrees nearer to the sun, and enjoy more early and certain seasons, there is far less reason in your case for stumbling at such objections. As however there is a loss sustained this way, which merits consideration, I am sure so does that which the dealer in cattle suffers by rots, murrains, and numberless other disorders incident to all kinds of cattle. In bad hay years (that is, generally once in 4 or 5 years) the expence of win-

tering cattle is greatly advanced. These losses may very well ballance those of Tillage.

Unless about considerable towns, your lands are set mostly under ten shillings an acre. Even in the *Golden Vale*, they did not set for so much, till of late. Yet as your grounds are near twice as good as those in *Meath* and *Louth*, so they ought to set for twice as much. Those in *Meath* setting for twenty, yours ought to set for forty, and yet, to your mortification, they set but for ten, that is for little more than a fourth part of their value.

The lands in the *North* are no way comparable to those in *Meath*, and much less still to yours. Notwithstanding this they generally set higher than yours.

No doubt on it the linen trade, and other manufactures contribute greatly to this. But then tillage is the source of all; for manufactures follow tillage, have always done so, and can never take place effectually where bread corn is not provided at cheap and easy rates.

Forty acres of very indifferent ground, in the northern end of the kingdom, maintain a family in plenty, and pay the landlord 14, 15, or perhaps 20 pounds yearly in rent; whereas in the southern end of the kingdom, where the soil is infinitely better, the same extent of ground feeds not an human creature; and yields its owner scarcely one third of its value. This, I think Sir, is a most shameful comparison.

But that which may be made between the lower inhabitants of the *North* and *South*, to whose different dispositions, the wide difference in the value of lands is owing, is I think still more odious.

I have seen, in the north of *Ireland*, a sturdy fellow, of *British* descent, who wore good cloaths, rode a good horse to church and market, dwelt in a warm stone house, maintained a wife and 4 or 5 children, or rather made them help to maintain him;

him; and all out of a little farm of 30 or 40 acres of sorry ground, at a very high rent. Nay, I have seen the same person portion off his children, and settle them, each in as good a way as himself. But then I own neither he nor his family eat the bread of idleness. They lived well, and they wrought for it. I have seen them burning lime or clay, drawing dung, marl, or sand, gathering the dirt off the high ways, raking the slutch out of ditches, and carrying the soil up, from deep bottoms, to bare and shallow hills, from whence it had been washed, as if they intended to repair their little portion of the world, and restore the very decays of nature.

Turn your eyes now Sir from these useful and worthy creatures, upon a poor cabin built of fods, sorely decayed in walls and roof, with half a dozen wretches within it, who are so far from being able to repair it, that if a single crown were sufficient to keep it from crushing them into the earth, they could not command it. They are cloathed with rags and half eaten up with vermin; and being too lazy and as often too proud to work, are nevertheless not ashamed to steal. Your bullocks indeed look well, but these slaves and attendants of theirs wear the livery of such a service, and look as if they had brutes indeed for their masters.

Pray now whether would you rather receive three thousand pounds a year from the former, or take two thousand that came by the assistance of the latter? Whither would you chuse, a third more from a country well peopled with such stout, and able bodied men, who would enrich you in peace, and defend you in war, or a third less, from a sort of desert grazed by a race of sheep, bullocks, and beggars, the latter of whom would infallibly cut your throat, and burn your house, were they encouraged to it by the least disturbance in the country.

We hear it often objected that many persons have made considerable fortunes by grazing, but none by tillage;

tillage; and that those gentlemen who have attempted tillage in very large farms, in hopes of enriching themselves that way, have been disappointed.

This whole objection Sir I grant; but it concludes nothing against tillage in the way I have been recommending; nor has it any thing to do with gentlemen of estates, whose fortunes are already made.

Those who take large stock-farms from you, at a very moderate rent, and hold the like in other estates near you, may possibly find a more certain profit in grazing those grounds with dry cattle, which may be attended by two or three herds, than by setting them in very small parcels to idle and unskilful cotters, who will break in arrears, and leave the houses out of repair, and the land out of heart. In the latter case they are to share in the profits of a very bungling sort of tillage, with perhaps an hundred families, but in the former, tho' the profits be less, they have them all to themselves. By this means, I own, the Lessees I am speaking of may grow rich; but be assured it is at the expence of their landlords, who might by tillage raise their rents a third, I might justly say, in many cases one half, and at the same time afford a comfortable support to crouds of human creatures, who are now lost to their country by idleness, banishment, or death. The profits of pasturage, tho' small, arising from a great extent of land, rated very low, may enrich a drover. But pray what is that to you Sir, who might have a great deal more for your land?

It is your business, as I take it, to consider how you may better your estate, not how this poor grazer, or that needy butcher may raise a fortune off your lands. As you are now about to set a large parcel of your lands, and have done me the honour to consult with me on the occasion, I wou'd advise you to set them in such a manner, as to have industrious men, rather than unprofitable cattle, to occupy your ground, and to suffer no over-grown Lessee to come
between

between you and those who work that ground, and intercept the greater part of the profit. There is no greater enemy to the landed gentlemen, than your takers of great leases, who either buy out those lands, they hold at a low rent, to needy wretches, who give them whatever they ask, or else graze them; and so in both cases, the ground, being occupied by beggars or black-cattle, is for ever unimproved. The landlord gets but a sorry rent, and his estate is a perfect desert. The extravagance of our gentlemen is the original cause of this. They want money; so they must either sell, or which is little better, fine down their lands to a perfect quit-rent. By this means their estates are almost lost to their families. Little more than the name is left; and their lands which by another management, might have payed their debts, given them more in five or six years, than their fines came to, and been doubled to them and their heirs for ever, are swallowed up, either by Drovers, who put cattle on them, or by retailers of land, who people them with thieves and beggars.

In a pamphlet published some years ago, in which there are many things on the subject of Tillage, that deserve your consideration, there is one gross mistake, which you and every landed gentleman should beware of being misled by. We are there told that, in the respect to Tillage and Pasturage, the public interest of the nation, and the private interest are against each other, that tho' Tillage be highly profitable to the public, Pasturage is more so to private persons; and that therefore the legislature ought to add such advantages, on the side of Tillage, as might raise its profit above those of pasturage, to private persons. The calculations I have sent you, demonstrate the very reverse in respect to private gain. They shew that the landlord and the husbandman would have between them $3\frac{1}{2}$, to 1 more by Tillage than by Grazing. Who then rapes the private gain in pasturage? Are not the landlords and the

the husbandmen private persons? And is not their gain a private one? The gentlemen can mean no other by private persons, than those who hold such leases as I spoke of above. But surely they are too thin a class to denominate the private interest in contradistinction to the public. If one should say that paying the legal duties upon commodities, and dealing fairly is for the public interest; but that running of goods, and dealing in contraband wares is more gainful to private persons, wou'd it not sound oddly? Are not the gains of fair dealers as much private gains, as those of the smuggling merchant? But his Parliamentary Remedy is as impossible, as the disorder he would apply it to, is imaginary. If there be a considerable gain in Pasturage more than in Tillage, by what præmiums or other expedients can the Legislature ever make up, an equivalent for it, or rather more than an equivalent; for people will not quit an old method for a new, till the new is made considerably more beneficial? If Pasturage were but a tenth part more profitable than Tillage, before the Legislature cou'd convert the nation from Grazing to Tillage, they must make the latter at least two or three tenths more gainful than the former. How cou'd they find a fund sufficient to do this over the whole nation. Twice the whole revenues of the kingdom would not be equal to the design.

As to those gentlemen who attempted Tillage in large farms, it is not to be wondered at that they were disappointed. For first, they had not that diligence and anxious attention to the business that is necessary to such affairs. * They, hunted one day, drank another, visited on a third, and it may be on the fourth, spent some hours in attending the labour of their Farms. This will never do, we may expect as little from labourers who have not their master to oversee them, as from soldiers who are to fight with-

* See old *Hesiod* on the subject of diligence and idleness.

out a commander. *Columella* charges ' the miscar-
 ' riages in farming, which the *Romans* complained
 ' of in his time, on their committing the business to
 ' the vilest and worst of servants, as if agriculture
 ' were a crime, which they wou'd not stoop to punish
 ' themselves, but committed to the hangman.*

Again, those gentlemen wanted skill in farming.
 They were so weak as to think any body might be
 an husbandman. Hence not knowing how to ma-
 nage the business they were about, they both took
 wrong measures, and besides were imposed on by
 those whose advice and care they trusted to. These
 men might as well have, all at once, set up for phy-
 sicians, or lawyers. Did they consult *Varro*, he
 wou'd tell them that agriculture is not only an art,
 but also a necessary and important art †. And if
 they wou'd consult *Columella*, ' they would find that
 ' judicious husbandman expressing his astonishment,
 ' that while his countrymen employed a master or
 ' professor in every other art, § or science, nay, even
 ' in musick, dancing, cooking, pickling, and cutting
 ' hair, he nevertheless cou'd hear of neither masters
 ' nor scholars in Agriculture, an art next a-kin to
 ' wisdom, and without which human life cannot be
 ' supported.

Again our gentlemen, being buoyed up with hopes
 of vast gain, undertook farms too large for five

* Rem Rusticam pessimo cuique servorum, velut cornifici
 noxiæ dedimus. *Colum. de re rust. lib. 1.*

† Agricultura non modo est ars, sed etiam, necessaria &
 magna. *Varro de re rust. lib. 1.*

§ Sola res rustica, quæ sine dubitatione, proxima, & consan-
 guinea sapientiæ est, tam discentibus egeat, quam magistris.
 Adhuc enim scholas rhetorum, &, ut dixi, geometrarum, musi-
 corumque, vel, quod magis mirandum est, contemptissimorum
 vitiorum officinas, gulosius condiendi cibos, & luxuriosius fercula
 fruendi; capitumque & capillorum concinnatores non solum esse
 audiui, sed & ipse vidi. Agricolationis, neque doctores qui se
 profiterentur, neque discipulos cognovi, &c. *Colum. de re rust.*
lib. 1.

of six diligent men to oversee. These large tracks of ground were indeed ploughed, harrowed, sowed, and reaped; and the corn was threshed out, cleaned and sold.

But how could the owner see that all this was done with diligence, skill and honesty? The old *Romans* assigned to every one no more than seven acres of ground. Even a Senator was liable to a prosecution at law, who held more than fifty. Now this was not so much that every one might have a share, because the case was the same, after the acquisition of whole nations by conquest, as that the ground might be managed to the greater advantage, and that its occupier might be forced to make the most on't. *

* *Columella* quotes *Laudato ingentia rura, exiguum colito*, as a good authority for a small farm; and to make that authority still the stronger, he says *Virgil* copied that sentence from an old *Phœnician* or *Carthaginian* maxim; the farm ought to be weaker than the husbandman; because as the husbandman is to strive with his farm, if the latter is too strong for him, it will crush him. He says further, that there is no doubt but a wide farm ill cultivated, yields a less crop than a narrow one well laboured. †

But if gentlemen find it so hard to make a considerable profit by Tillage, the case would be worse in respect to pasturage, should they be obliged to take stock-farms at such a rent as husbandmen always give for their lands all over the tilling countries. I have heard many dealers in cattle say, that were they to take farms now at the present improvement of rents, they could never live by the business. Is not this the same as to say, they make their fortunes

* For this see *Varro* and *Columella* de re rustica.

† Imbeciliorem agrum quam Agricolam delere, quoniam quum sit colluctandum cum eo, si fundus prevaleat, allidi dominum. Nec dubium quin minus reddat laxus ager, non recte cultus, quam angustus eximie.

out of the landed gentlemens pockets, and is it not giving up the point in question, whether the tiller or the grazer, can afford to bid highest for your land?

It is I know objected by some, that if Tillage be so much more gainful than grazing, how comes it to pass, that the *English*, who know the difference very well, run much into grazing, tho' we may perceive by the low price at which our *Irish* wool and hides sell there, that the produce of pasturage is not very highly rated among them.

In answer to this I must deny the first point taken for granted. The *English* do not run much into grazing, I mean they keep no great quantity of ground untilld for the sake of sheep and oxen. They take a wiser method, of which we might have the advantage as well as they. Their lands after Tillage are so well laid down with grass-seed, clover-seed, &c. and they sow such prodigious fields of turnips, that their ground can feed more cattle of all sorts, than if it lay continually under pasture. Then their tillage being carried on mostly with oxen, which are fed with hay, grass, chopt straw, and weak corn, the production of beef and grain among them is obtained by the same method, at the same time, and on the same ground. The one is so far from hindering the other, that did they feed fewer oxen, they would not plow nor sow so much, and did they plow and sow less they could not have so much grass, hay, straw and corn to feed their cattle. How would *Irish* ignorance and slothfulness stare at such a paradox as this? Their sheep feed on turnips, and the grass of fields lately plowed.

Some of their young cattle are fed on coarse grounds, others are driven from *Scotland* and *Wales*, and get the last fatning from grounds from which heavy crops of grain were reaped the very year before. Besides they have advantages in grazing which we have not. Beef and mutton are sold in *London* for twice

as

as much as in *Dublin*. This greatly helps to enhance the profits of pasturage in *England*. And as to our wool, hides, and tallow selling at a low rate there, tho' it be true that they do, yet they are in fact a good deal dearer in *England* than here. This will best appear by an instance.

Suppose an *Irish* merchant to pay 20 crowns for twenty stone of wool in *Ireland*, and likewise to pay 4 crowns more for custom-house fees and freightage. If the *English* manufacturer buys the said wool at 26 crowns in *England* he pays no more for it, than for so much *English* wool: Consequently the *English* wool sells in the country where it is produced, as high as ours after the expence of exportation is taken out of it. The same may be said of hides and tallow carried from hence to *England*. As to the merchants profits, they arise by the advanced value of money in *Ireland*. It appears now that tho' flesh, wool, hides, tallow, butter, &c. are dearer in *England* than here, and the corn of all sorts is for the most part cheaper, yet the *English* generally prefer Tillage, and use *Ireland* as a stock farm to furnish beef and butter for their shipping. The *English* gain considerably more by cattle, and less by Tillage than we, and yet such is the ballance on the side of Tillage even there, that they till almost all their grounds that are fit for Tillage.

But tho' these reasonings carry with them a light, which common sense can hardly be blind to, yet a wretched slavery to old habits and prejudices hinders their good effects. Many who have been all their days accustomed to the cringes of two or three herds, more fearful than their sheep, and more obsequious than their dogs, are afraid of a thriving yeomanry, who being able to pay their rent at the day, wou'd expect to be treated upon a footing of freedom. But one who loves freedom in himself, should desire to cherish it in others. For my own part, I should be much better pleased to hear an honest rough fellow
of

of this stamp, call me by my plain name, than have a supple knave of yours dignify me with, your Honour, and your Majesty, and such other goodly titles, with which an herald in sheep is wont to sooth the vanity of some masters. But methinks a landlord shou'd be well pleased to see his estate under such hands. Are they sturdy for any other reason, but because they are full of bread, and beholding to nothing on earth, but their own industrious hands, for what they enjoy, because in short they can hold their own with their landlord and the world? Is not all this roughness, howsoever awkward it may be in itself, entirely on the side of the landlord? He surely of all men, has no reason to complain, that his tenants do not fear him. Wou'd not you Sir be better pleased to have two or three hundred such as these, to stand up for you on all occasions, particularly to vote for you, or your son, at an Election, than nurse up an overgrown drover with lands at third part value, till he is able to carry the county, or your own burrough against you. I beg Sir you may think of this last hint, and think of it in time, you know well enough what I mean. I am told—— keeps the estate of—— unset since the expiration of the leases, with a design to plant it with farmers, and linen weavers from the North, and that he has an agent just now employed in that business. In 4 years, or thereabout, I believe almost the whole estate of—— will be out of lease, and you know he has been declaring any time this ten years, that he will give effectual encouragement to Tillage and the linen manufacture. I instance these gentlemen in particular, only because their interest and yours are likely to interfere. But you know the design of enclosing lands, building houses, and planting husbandmen, and tradesmen on their estates, is becoming general all over *Munster* and *Conaught*: So that those gentlemen, whose lands are already set to drovers

vers for long terms of years yet to come, or who thro' ignorance of their interest, or want of a small purse to prepare their lands for the execution of the same design, are forced to postpone it, will in some years have the mortification to see themselves sink into so many Cyphers in their respective counties.

I hope Sir, no more need be said to prove to you that an estate divided into moderate farms, and possessed by good husbandmen, becomes, thrice as valuable as the same estate grazed by any kind of cattle; that a grazer enjoys only the very surface of the ground; but that the husbandman like a miner, goes deeper, and turns up a much richer treasure. The conclusion from this is plain and necessary, namely, that if you cou'd set your estate in moderate farms to skilful and laborious husbandmen from the North or *Great Britain*, you would make a new purchase in your own lands, you would have at least a third more to yourself, than you at present get out of it, and leave another third to your tenants, which in its uncultivated state, does not arise out of it at all.

This it is true cannot be affected without some expence to you, as I shall notice presently; but you would be willing to buy land at twenty years purchase, and reversions at the usual rate in respect to the time that the purchase-money is to lie dead. Now as in this kind of purchase, the gain would very quickly accrue, so I can scarce call it a reversion. But supposing it to be such, and that the return will not be made you in less than 5, 10, or 15 years, yet that return will be so great, that you may very well reckon you have thrice the legal interest of your expences, from the time of laying out your money.

You will be apt to ask now how such a tenantry can be obtained, and to recollect how often the encouraging colonies of husbandmen to settle in the
southern

southern and western parts of the kingdom has been attempted without success.

There were several causes of these miscarriages, which I hope in future attempts of the like nature may be prevented.

In the first place, the husbandmen were not duly encouraged. Farmers who have already good holdings, and live well in their own country and among their relations, will not without greater encouragement than you can afford to give them, remove to a distant country.

For this reason you cannot hope to have such; nor were such ever brought southward upon our present scheme. Those, who went to *Munster* and *Conaught* to take farms, were generally people in but low circumstances, and with so narrow stocks, that by the time they had enclosed their grounds, built, &c. they had nothing left to carry on the intended Tillage. By these means they soon broke, to the great discouragement of others, who were disposed to follow them, and so the gentlemen, who invited them, having their lands wasted and thrown upon their hands with the loss of some arrears, grew as sick of the business, as those poor men who were undone by it.

But to execute the design effectually, the farm-houses ought to be built, and the ground enclosed at the expence of the landlords, which the advance in their rents would soon repay them. Were this done I myself know hundreds, who would in half a year's time, sit down on your estate, and in the course of a few years, would turn it into a perfect garden.

Another great discouragement to these tilling and trading colonies, arises from the ill treatment such people, who are mostly Protestants, have usually received among the popish inhabitants of your country. Their cattle have been houghed and stolen, their stack yards, and sometimes their very houses

burnt, and a combination entered into by all their popish neighbours to carry all points in business or law against them, and on all occasions to oppose and frighten them.

This difficulty might now be easily got over. Your country has already more protestants in it than in the times we have been speaking of. The natives are more amenable to the laws, have less hope of assistance from abroad, or a revolution in their favour. Besides, many of them wou'd, as they have done in the north, and in the counties of *Louth* and *East-Meath*, learn of their new neighbours to cultivate the ground, and chuse by that means to enrich themselves, and become useful to their country, rather than tempt the resentment of the candid gentlemen, of the government, and of an armed force.

If some pains were taken with the native *Irish*, I believe they might be reclaimed from much of that mistaken rancour they shew on such occasions, as I have been just now speaking of. They might by reason and in a good-natured way be won to industry, which wou'd produce wealth, and wealth contentment. The sight of protestants, thriving among them by Tillage and trade, wou'd in time make them ashamed of their sloath and beggary.

But lest in some places they should happen to fall to their old foolish practices upon their neighbour's corn and cattle, it would not be amiss that the houses of the new farmers should stand pretty near each other and form a sort of scattered villages, that they should be built of stone and lime, and if possible slated, that the master of the family shou'd keep a gun and some other arms in his house, and that he should let loose a large and fierce mastiff to range about all night after having been chained all day. These expedients were practised in the north with very good effect, and were found

found necessary, till the country become thoroughly inclosed and civilized.

No design of this nature can be accomplished without some pains and perseverance. A plantation, like these I have been speaking of, must be nursed in its infancy by those who have sway and interest in the country. The gentlemen of estates in the north have executed the scheme I am recommending under much greater difficulties than you have to struggle with, by doing little more than setting their lands at moderate rents, for short terms; at the expiration of which, they found so many people to bid for their farms, that the rent was every where doubled, and in some places, where they had encouraged towns to be built, they got three, four, or five times their first rent. Is it not a shame now that after this work has been begun, and carried on in the teeth of much greater obstacles, in the cold barren end of the kingdom, you cannot bring it forward to your own, where it would be so much easier to make it succeed. Do you think those crouds, who for want of room in the *Norib*, go every year to *America*, would not rather stay in their own country and climate, and take a short journey by land, than a long and dangerous voyage by sea, did you provide a tolerable reception for them on your estate?

You lose more by letting those people go out of the kingdom than is generally imagined. Lands are not riches; but good inhabitants, who bring the necessaries and comforts of life out of the ground, are real wealth. This appears beyond all contradiction from the state of *Ulster* immediately after the wars. Lands then set in the *Norib* for no more than three or four shillings an acre. And why? Because their value was not in proportion to any intrinsic worth of their own, but to the numbers that wanted them. Now they set from seven to nine in the country, and about towns from fifteen to twenty, or even as high as thirty in some places. In the towns them-

selves, that ground, which before the town, that now stands on it, was built, was thought dear of four shillings an acre, is now set for 20, 30, or 40 pounds. In short the grounds at greatest distance from towns frequently pay more rent to the landlord, than the best husbandman in the world could possibly raise out of them. For this trade, the offspring of industry in general, but more especially of Agriculture is to be thanked.

This Sir is the same with what I said to you on the subject of Tillage some years ago. I now repeat it at your own request, and out of an unfeigned friendship to you, whose interest I wish it were in my power to promote by expedients fitting for me to propose, and you to execute. I shall now address myself to you as a member of the honourable house of Commons, and guardian to your country, which as it is also mine, I am by duty and affection bound to consult its welfare to the uttermost of my little abilities.

I believe I need not take up much time to convince you, that your country is in a distressed, and almost desperate condition. The late famine and pestilence, that have lain so long and heavily on us, recur, no doubt on't, to a mind like yours, too strongly to need a verbal representation of what exceeds all description. Plagues and wars are reckoned the most terrible calamities, because they destroy great numbers in one place and at the same time, but what we have suffered was every whit as destructive, and therefore to a considering person ought to seem as terrible. It is computed by some, and perhaps not without reason, that as many people have died of want, and disorders occasioned by want, within these two years past, as fell by the sword in the massacre and rebellion of forty one. Whole parishes have in some places been almost desolated; and the dead have been eaten in the fields by dogs, for want of people to bury them. Whole
thousands

thousands in a barony have perished, some of hunger, and others of disorders occasioned by unnatural, unwholesome and putrid diet. Now Sir, you know this is no new thing with us. We saw the same in 28 and 29, and since that have once or twice felt it in a lower degree. Had not the gentry, clergy, and corporate towns given liberally to the relief of the poor, at those calamitous seasons, those who perished must have been followed by as many more. But daubing and patching up evils of this kind with late, and ineffectual Alms, is a poor, desperate necessitous expedient. Are we never to think of preventing them? Are not the lives of so many people worth saving? Are they not our countrymen, our tenants, our flesh and blood? Shall we idly wish a remedy for such general calamities only while they continue to afflict or frighten us, but as soon as ever they abate, never once think of providing against them for the future?

You gentlemen, who represent the nation, are the only persons, that can remedy this ruinous calamity. Tho' Tillage brings a much greater præmium with it, than the Parliament can give; yet so it is, that a small sum, conferred as an honorary reward, and considered by the receiver as an advance in the price of his grain, would probably weigh more with a person, not yet satisfied about the great profits of Tillage, than all that can be said to him by those who are experimentally acquainted with those profits. I submit it to your better judgment, whether it wou'd not therefore be wisely done of the Parliament, to increase the præmium, allowed to the exporter, and give it to the farmer, till convinced by the ample profits arising from Tillage itself he begin to pursue it for it's own sake, and to consider it as its own reward. After this, when we begin to produce more grain than the kingdom can consume, the same præmium may be restored to the exporter, and continued to him till the sweets of exportation

have been a little tasted by him, and then they alone will be a sufficient encouragement.

But a very small præmium to either the vender or the exporter, will leave the matter just where it found it; and a præmium given when grain is sunk to such a price, that both that and the præmium wou'd not pay the expences of Tillage, is no præmium at all. Such is the case in the præmium act made in Queen *Anne's* reign.

You can likewise find out more effectual means than have been yet thought of, to oblige those who have not sense nor goodness enough to do it of themselves, to throw a large portion of their grounds into Tillage. Five acres in the hundred will never relieve the necessities of the nation; much less will they afford any thing for exportation. Besides, the law to inforce even that, is so wholly contemned, that it has not even prevailed on our people to make an experiment in five acres, which had they been forced to make, their profits by this time wou'd have led them to the Tillage of the whole hundred. Laws made for a purpose so absolutely necessary as this, shou'd be inforced by very severe penalties, and not such penalties as no body will care, or dare to inflict. If twenty acres in the hundred of all arable grounds were by law obliged to be plowed, on pain of forfeiting to the landlord the sum of twenty shillings for every acre of said number that shou'd be unplow'd, such a law would have strength to execute itself.

There can be no hardship in compelling those, who hold great parcels of land at low rents, to Let off at the rate of sixty acres in the hundred, that twenty may be plowed, to such improving tenants as their landlord can procure for them. These husbandmen working for themselves, and not as meer overseers to others, will soon convince the greater lessees that it is their interest to tenant all their leases in the same manner; and then they will do that in hopes of gain, which at first they were obliged

to do for fear of punishment. As to those, who hold small farms, they cannot afford to graze them; so no penalties need be inflicted on them.

It has been a long and just complaint, that the price of grain is ever rising and falling to extremes in this unhappy country. One year it is so low, that the farmer can get nothing for his crop, and is not able to pay his rent; the next year it is so excessively high, that the poor are starved and die by thousands of disorders occasioned by famine. A plentiful harvest brings down the price of grain so far, that the farmer does not think it worth his while to follow the plow for the next year. By this means next year is a year of dearth and distress. Thus we go on without looking before us further than to the next year, and so once or twice in seven years are visited with such mortalities, as other countries, not even the most barren, don't feel twice in a century. We have not much to spare in a good year; and a bad one brings us to the brink of ruin. When we have any grain to spare, which happens so seldom that we never think of carrying it abroad, a parcel of forestallers snap it up, and for the next year, have the whole country at their mercy; till the further ends of the earth send us relief.

Our soil is good, and exceeds that of most countries in fertility, but rather than trust to it, we commit our necessary subsistence to the casualties of the sea. Instead of sowing our kindly grounds, and reaping a plentiful and certain crop, we chuse to sow the wind, and reap the whirlwind.

Our condition is exactly the same with that of the *Romans*, in the reign of *Claudius*. 'As that Emperor, says *Tacitus*, was hearing causes in the forum, the people beset him with tumultuary clamours, and having driven him into the extreme part of the forum, were going to lay violent hands upon him, when his guards forced a passage for him thro' the crowd. At this time there were

* but fifteen days provisions in the city; and it was relieved in it's extremity by the mere bounty of providence, and the mildness of the winter. The historian remarks on this occasion, that in former times, provisions were carried from *Italy* to the remotest provinces of the Empire, and yet tho' the soil of *Italy* was as fruitful as ever, his countrymen wisely chose to cultivate *Africa* and *Egypt*, and trust their lives to their ships and fortune. *

This is now most exactly our case. We neglect the Tillage of our own lands, which would produce us a plentiful, and certain crop, and put our lives on the chance of the winds and seas; and so frequently die by thousands before victuals can be had from the *American* plantations, whose soil is perfectly barren, if compared to ours, or from the *Dutch*, who huckster to us, what they purchased perhaps several years ago, from more industrious countries.

After suffering so long, and so woefully, by our own folly and slothfulness, it is now high time Sir to provide for ourselves, by Tillage and Granaries of our own. If our rich grounds were brought under Tillage, we should then always have enough for our own consumption, and vast quantities to send abroad. Our granaries in that case would help to keep our markets even. They would raise the price of corn in plentiful years, and when the demand from abroad did not happen to be brisk enough, by buying up great quantities of our grain. And they would lower it again in dear years, or when we should happen to oversell our last crop, by exposing it in the several market towns at a moderate price.

* Quindecim dierum alimenta urbi, non amplius superfuisse constitit. Magnaque Deum benignitate, & modestia hyemis rebus extremis subventum. At hercule olim ex Italiae regionibus longinquas in provincias commeatus portabant. Nec nunc in secunditate laboratur, sed Africam potius & Aegyptum excercemus, navibusque & casibus vita populi Romani permessa est.

Corn. Taciti Annalium Lib. 12. Cap. 43.

By

By this means the farmer would always get a good price for his grain, and the poor would never be distressed.

If however Tillage is even yet to be neglected, Granaries then become still more absolutely necessary, and they must, for the most part, be supplied from abroad. It is dreadful to think of facing such another season as the last. If we be not so wise as to provide the grand necessary of life within ourselves, surely we can't be so mad as to neglect bringing it in time, from other countries.

It is not enough however to establish Granaries; it is also requisite they should be put on such a footing, as may promise a remedy of our present dangers and distresses, without involving us in other or greater mischiefs.

Such funds as are necessary for the building, filling, and keeping Granaries in repair, are not to be hoped for, either out of the public revenues, or from private subscriptions. Besides, if such funds cou'd be raised by either of those means, yet the whole benefit intended, wou'd be jobbed away into private hands, and the poor or the public would be never the better for it. Granaries therefore are not to be erected, but by those who hope to make a profit by them, and at the same time preserve their estates from desolation, and their fellow-creatures from the last distress. As every mortal is now crying out for an increase of Tillage, so great numbers of gentlemen are going fast into the scheme of Granaries. No time can be so fit for filling them, as the present, when the nation is glutted by a great harvest, and by unusual quantities of imported grain. If incorporate towns wou'd now retrench their various expences, and apply such sums as they could raise off their lands, or otherwise; if monied men would venture a few hundreds, tho' it were only to try how the matter would succeed; and if others would unite into companies, and buy up during this winter, good quantities

quantities of sound grain, and store it on strong floors, where it might be kept dry, and often turned, I make no doubt but the profit, which would accrue to them, would be very considerable, and then they wou'd have the pleasure of saving many thousands of their fellow-creatures from intolerable calamities, and death itself.

His Grace, the PRIMATE, who is always among the foremost of those, who bring relief to the distressed, has promised to assist the corporation of *Armagh* in building a large market-house, the upper story of which is to be a Granary. *Arthur Dobbs, Esq;* has some thoughts I am told of converting the fine stables at *Portmore* in the county of *Antrim* into a Granary. There is a small store-house for corn intended at *Ballycastle*, near the colliery, in the same county. Another larger near *Newry*. The cities of *Dublin* and *Kilkenny* are also, as I am informed, inclinable to erect considerable Granaries out of their funds.

I hope Sir we shall soon see so wise and useful a design become more general, and gather spirit from both the public and private benefit that may be expected from it. However as the proprietors of such Granaries may in time turn the most oppressive forestallers, so care must be taken to keep their conduct within some bounds. This is the business of the Parliament, who can easily settle by law the advance, which shall be allowed in the price of corn during the dear seasons, by a proportion to it's middle price between *All Saints* and *Christmas*. For this purpose sworn returns may be made to the Government from every county, and then the advanced price adjusted, and sent down to the Granaries, and market-towns, by way of proclamation. The advance must be pretty high or else no body will lay out his money for such a purpose. But may it not be very high, and yet greatly short of the price at which

which our forefathers sell their grain and mail in the dear seasons?

Here I must observe to you, Sir, that no one need be afraid of engaging in Granaries from an apprehension that their grain will lie long on their hands. We are not yet in any danger of being overstocked with corn. But if we should, are there not foreign markets open, nay gaping for what we shall spare? And may not our Granaries have the same advantage in exportation that every common merchant may enjoy?

If Tillage should take place in *Munster* and *Connaught*, it would employ all those idle hands in those countries, which now do little more than carry the fruits of other people's labours to their mouths. As for the women and children, they are wholly useless, every where excepting in the *North*. It is amazing that a kingdom can at all subsist, in which the few industrious people have such crowds of idlers to maintain, who hang like a dead weight upon all kinds of industry and trade. But were those countries tilled, as every one in a farmers family would find something to do, instead of begging food from others they would earn it for themselves. Theft and beggary are the offsprings of want, and want, of idleness and pasturage. No nation ever so infamously swarmed with thieves and beggars as this wretched island.

But were the country well inhabited and inclosed, these idle fellows, who from shepherds and cowherds turn, sheep-stealers and cow-stealers, would find it very difficult to drive cattle from one country to another, as they do at present.

But we shall never want thieves, while we have strolling beggars. The high road is the nursery and academy of thieves, who are but one degree worse than those who train them up. Of all nuisances and grievances incident to poor *Ireland*, strolling beggars are the worst. I have heard some people compute,

pute, that we have always above fifty thousand of them rambling from place to place and that what they consume in the year is equal to a sixth part of the national taxes.

But be that as it will, these wretches are at first set a going by real want of bread, in bad seasons, during which time, idleness, rambling, and impudence become so habitual to them, and they grow so expert in the art of begging, that they never think of returning to a settled place of abode, and to industry. But Tillage and Granaries would prevent those famines, that always break so many poor families, and turn them out to the road. Besides as this evil will make a law necessary to correct it, I do not know that a more effectual expedient could be found out by the legislature than to empower any body, who has farming-work, flax-dressing, or any such labour a doing, to seize on all young and lusty beggars, whom they shall find sauntering about their houses, and compel them with the horse-whip and cudgel to work for meat, without wages. If this were the case, the farmers and others would not fail to put a law in execution that gave them a sturdy labourer without wages, and so in a little time the strollers would fairly quit the trade, and the nation be relieved of a burthen, which it is not able to bear.

For want of tillage at home, that is, for want both of food and work, vast numbers of our labourers go every year to *England*; and as these are people who are willing to work the loss of them is never enough to be regretted. The colonies to *America*, and those huge drains of useful hands to *England*, carry out the real wealth of the nation. Nor can I say it is at all their fault, but rather their misfortune, who are exiled from their native country, and their relations, and exposed to unheard of hardships, to make room for bullocks and sheep on those grounds, which they might, if employed,

employed, render so much more valuable to their infatuated owners.

I know it is objected to all schemes for Tillage, that it would occasion a decay of the beef trade, by which we bring so much gold into the nation from *Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, and America*. But those who make this objection are not aware, that if our grounds were plowed with oxen, we should have no great decrease of beef. The coarse and mountainy grounds would feed prodigious numbers of dry cattle for the two or three first years, after which, if they were brought into the rich pastures of clover, &c. which would follow the last year of Tillage, they might be made to overpay, in labour, all that was given for them at first, and laid out in keeping them; so that their carcase, hide, tallow, &c. would be all clear gain to their owners. I am convinced, that by this sort of management, we might fatten as many bullocks, and export as much beef as we do at present, and that without costing us any thing. We should in short have all the bullock-beef both for home consumption, and exportation for nothing. If the grass and hay, produced in the above way, would not be sufficient to feed as many bullocks and dry cows, as are fatted by our lands untilled, I am confident with the assistance of the straw, and weak corn, they would. It is thus beef is produced all over *England*. But supposing we should have somewhat less beef to export, would it not sell the higher? Those who get beef from us for victualing their ships, must have it, cost what it will, as they have scarcely any other market to go to; for as to the *English*, having a prodigious number of ships to victual, they cannot spare much to foreign nations. It appears then that as we should have the foreign beef-markets in a good measure to ourselves, four tubs of beef might sell for as much as six do at present.

How-

However where is the great benefit of bringing in gold for our beef, if we are obliged to send it out again for bread-corn, unless it be to encrease the trouble and expence of perpetually carrying in and out for nothing. We every year send out of the kingdom above 100,000*l.* for grain of one sort or other, and flour, and more than a fourth of that sum, for malt liquors. Had we sufficient Tillage of our own, all this might be saved, and five times as much gained by the exportation of our superfluous grain. Foreign countries want bread-corn as well as beef, especially those, that abound most with gold. Corn is the chief necessary of life, and can never fail of a market some where or other, can never fail to bring money into a country that can afford to export it. We see by the *English* trade in corn, what ours might be. They always find a market and ready money for all they can spare. We might do the same; and should gain more by that trade, than they; because our lands are set at lower rents than theirs, and in the southern parts, incomparably more fertil. Our taxes too are nothing to theirs. The security of gaining greatly by a corn trade appears still more evident, from the trade, which the *Dutch* drive in corn. All the world knows their country produces but little fit for foreign sale. What they send abroad they import from other countries, and store it up for times of scarcity in the neighbouring countries. Now they can gain considerably by dealing in this commodity, though they are at the expence of importing, storing, and exporting. What then should hinder us from gaining still more considerably, who are to be at no other expence, but that of exportation to countries, from whence our merchants may return with profitable cargoes of foreign goods. In a report made by the commissioners for putting in execution an act for stating the public accounts, *Charles Davenant*, L. L. L. having first shewn what

quan-

quantities of corn had been entered for exportation to *Holland*, proceeds, ' What part of this commodity is for their own consumption, and what part they re-export to other countries, does not appear to me; but so far is certain, when corn bears an high price in foreign markets, they send large cargoes of it to the places where it finds good vent; and it has been known, that in years of scarcity, they bring us back our own wheat, because of the præmium we give upon exportation, and which they are enabled to do, by having large granaries almost in every town, wherein they store large quantities in cheap years to answer the demands of other countries.——As the case now stands, the *Dutch* have too great a share in a plentiful year of corn here. Whereas, if like them, we had public granaries, the superfluity of some years would sell better in foreign markets, and support our own poor in times of want. And to me it seems, that nothing would more contribute to put the general ballance of trade always on the side of *England*, than by good oeconomy, in the public to keep corn constantly at such a rate, as that the price of labour and manufacture may at no time be over high.

Thus it appears, Sir, that the *English* out of a worse soil, and under much heavier taxes and rents than ours, gain prodigiously by tillage. It appears also, that the *English*, for want of granaries, have not the full profit of their own corn; and that the *Dutch* after buying it up at the *English* price, and defraying all the expences of importing, storing, and exporting, come in for a great profit besides. What is it now that makes us blind to so glaring an interest? Surely there is not under the sun so unthinking a people as we are!

I cannot dismiss this point concerning the public interest in Tillage without putting you in mind, that all the expence in labour, which was deducted
out

out of the private interest of the farmer in my calculation, is here to be added to the public gain of the nation in exporting grain. You know, Sir, that it is the consumer, who pays for all expences on any commodity. Consequently the *Spanish, Portuguese or French*, who shall buy our grain must pay the hire of all our labourers, horses, and oxen employed in Tillage. Now were all our arable grounds brought under the plough, the nation would gain by labour only, 32*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* in every five years Tillage of 12 acres *Irish* measure. This, over the whole kingdom, would amount to a prodigious sum, and as it would arise from men and oxen, that are now almost wholly idle, would be so much clear gain to the public.

I think it may be laid down as a maxim, that whatsoever commodity brings in the greatest sum of money to the nation, from whence it is exported, must be the most gainful to the public, let the private gains to particular dealers be never so small, provided the hands are not taken off from a more profitable employment. Agreeably to this, if the lands in *Munster* and *Connaught* at present yield and export as much beef, tallow, butter, hides, wool, &c. as brings in 500,000*l.* per annum, and if one fifth part is to be deducted for the private expences in buying, selling, herding, slaughtering, sheep-sheering, buttermaking, salting of beef and hides, the remaining private profit will be 400,000*l.* Yet if a quantity of grain to the value of 900,000*l.* were annually exported, or, which amounts to the same thing, if 200,000*l.* worth of it were used at home, and the other 700,000*l.* worth exported, and if likewise the private expence and labour laid out in the production of this grain amounted to 600,000*l.* in this case tho' the private farmers or dealers would gain but 300,000*l.* which is a fourth less than the private gain in pastu-

rage,

rage, yet the public wou'd gain by Tillage near twice as much as by Pasturage, the public profits of Tillage wou'd be to those of Pasturage as 9 to 5. But when the private as well as the public gain are both so greatly on the side of Tillage, what can make both the public, and private persons, so blind to their own interest?

Again, if Tillage were properly encouraged, it wou'd fill the kingdom with inhabitants, in which consists the true wealth and strength of a nation. It is a downright absurdity to consult a map for the greatness of a kingdom, which is to be numbered, and not measured. The natives wou'd, in time, fall into Agriculture, and wou'd acquire possessions in houses, lands, goods, and grain, which being permanent things, wou'd be a security for their loyalty and good behaviour. But as the Tillage wou'd run chiefly thro' the hands of Protestants, the whole kingdom wou'd, in a few years, be planted with such a sturdy Yeomanry, as wou'd effectually secure the estates of you landed gentlemen to your families. Men of that kind make the best soldiers in the world. What is the Sword in an hand accustomed to wield the spade and the plough. Such men are hardy and patient of labour. A campaign wou'd be only a relaxation to them. Besides, tho' of all men they are the fittest for war, yet as old *Cato* observes, they are at the same time the quietest, and farthest from a disposition to tumults and insurrections. * How quickly, for want of such, were the Protestant Gentlemen in *Munster*, *Linster*, and *Conaught*, forced from their estates in the beginning of the late war? But in the *North*, the brave husbandmen ran from the spade and plough, and valiantly defended their liberties and religion, against a powerful invader, supported both by a foreign and domestic force. How wou'd you wish, Sir, to be surrounded with such neighbours, at the

* *Ex Agriculis, & viri fortissimi, & milites strenuissimi gignuntur, maximeque pias questus, stabilissimusque consequitur, minimeque invidiosus; minimeque male cogitantes sunt, quia eo studio occupati sunt. M. Catonis Prisci ad lib. de re rustica introductio.*

beginning of an invasion or a civil war? and not by such, as having nothing to lose, are ever intent on changes, and wou'd look on all your possessions as lawful spoil.

Of all the many advantages arising from Tillage, the introduction of manufacturers is the greatest. In order to establish manufactures in any country, victuals must be provided at easy rates, or those manufactures must bear a very high price in foreign countries. For some time the latter may support a manufacture; but it will not be long e'er other nations will perceive the advantage, and put in for a share of it. But that country, which can afford it's manufactures at the lowest rates, is always sure of the trade. Now tho' being expert and ready at any article of manufacture, is a great help to lower it's price, yet the cheapness of provisions contributes no less to the cheapness of the manufacture. If meal, for instance, which is the chief article of victualling, is brought from foreign countries, the expence of bringing, and the merchants profits, must make it come so much the dearer to the consumer. The greater price the manufacturer pays for his necessaries, the higher he must hold his wares. For this reason, least at any time, thro' a succession of bad harvests, or too great a drain by exportation, a scarcity shou'd make it impossible for a tradesman to sell his wares at a price low enough for exportation, and at the same time victual his family, such stores should be provided in all considerable towns, as with prudent and honest management, might keep down the corn-markets.

It is true, a scarcity in this country has hitherto produced an encrease of manufactures, and lowered the price of them. But that proceeds from the idle disposition of our people, who do not care to bestir themselves, till want and necessity forces them, at which times they are obliged to work at a lower gain, and double their diligence, in pain of starving. This however is such an evil, as, if it be not reformed, we can never hope to grow rich. Tillage, which affords

an encouraging prospect of wealth, will be found to be the best remedy for it; because our idleness is in a great measure, owing to despair of ever getting above the world, from whence proceeds a sort of contentment in poverty, provided we have present necessities, and an utter inattention to future provision.

But as, without curing our people of this desperate sort of sloath, all hopes of public wealth are vain, I therefore argue upon a supposition of it's being cured, and insist that if such manufactures, as are prepared for foreign markets, are not sold by those who make them, at low rates, no trade can be founded on them; because, if the prime cost is an high one, before they can be brought to a foreign market, the expence of carrying, and the profit expected by the exporter, will raise them above the prices at which the same kind of goods are sold in the same market by other nations. Now, it is plain, Sir, that if the manufacturer is obliged to pay an high price for his victuals, he must hold his wares the higher, or he cannot live; and it is as plain, that if his victuals come to him from *Sicily* or *America*, he must pay more for them, than if they were brought only from the next field. And for the same reason, as tradesmen usually crowd about towns for the benefit of buying their provisions near their shops, and to avoid running from their work to a distant market, to purchase victuals, so it would be of infinite use to them, to have public Granaries in such towns, rather than the sacks of forestallers and extortioners, to resort to. Thus I think it is plain from this way of reasoning, that without Tillage or Granaries, manufacture cannot long or greatly thrive.

But Tillage does not only prepare a reception for manufactures, but actually introduces them. A family, used to industry, knows not how to be idle. Once men, as *Sir William Temple* observes, have thro' necessity, been enured to labour, they cannot leave it, being grown a custom necessary to their health,

and to their very entertainment: Nor perhaps is the change harder, from ease to labour, than from constant labour to ease.

Accordingly, the family of an industrious farmer, having finished their Summer's work in the fields, having got in their harvest, and put their winter grain into the ground, fall to some kind of industry within doors, at which, in some time, they become handy, and it grows to a kind of trade. The women especially, employ themselves in knitting, spinning, and the like, by the profits of which, whole families are often maintained. It was thus the Linen trade crept into the north of *Ireland*. The inhabitants holding small farms, which did not furnish them with labour thro' the winter, nor with necessaries thro' the year, set their women to spin, and their young lads to weave, when they cou'd be spared from other work. By these means, an ordinary sort of cloth began to be made; but it yielded a profit, and being further improved by practice, and the example of the *French* settled at *Lisburn*, it became the support of the nation. Thus the women, who in *Linster*, *Munster* and *Conaught*, are scarce of any other use, than to bear beggar children, in the *North*, give birth to all the wealth of the kingdom, and besides, bear a race of brave and able bodied men, to defend that wealth from all invaders.

But again, Tillage brings in manufactures another way. An husbandman, who took a farm, perhaps thirty years ago, consisting of seventy or eighty acres of land, has during that time supported himself very comfortably on it. Yet foreseeing that he must divide it among three or four children, and that each of them will not have ground enough to support a new, and it may be, a numerous family, he breeds one of his sons to one trade, and a second to another; and those men, with each of them, perhaps but a fourth part of their father's farm, and usually with the rent advanced upon them, become richer and live better than ever their father did. Many persons bred

up this way, make great fortunes, employ crowds of people under them, and become a credit and support to their country.

Besides all this, the husbandman employs several trades in building and making utensils, such as masons, smiths, carpenters; and in making cloths for himself and family, such as weavers, taylors, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, &c. This now brings that chief article of wealth, I mean industrious people, into a country. But in yours, Sir, it would turn the idlers, who are now burthensome to others, into laborious and useful men. If your natives saw a mixture of industrious tradesmen among them, tho' it were but here one, and there another, living comfortably, eating and drinking well, and wearing good cloths, it wou'd certainly tempt them to quit their laziness, and learn trades, in order to get rid of their rags and hunger. This wou'd be an infinite advantage to the nation; because by this means great sums wou'd be gained, instead of much greater that are now lost, in maintaining above a million and a half of free-booters, who consume the labours of others, and are no doubt on't, the chief reason, why our manufacturers of all kinds, are not cheaper.

Besides the reasons already mentioned against Pasturage, there are some others, arising from the peculiar circumstances of this kingdom, that deserve to be well considered. The *English* have, for some ages, supplied their neighbours with woollen manufactures, out of which they have derived great profit. But upon the great increase of sheep in *Ireland*, the *English* became jealous of our hurting them in that main article of their trade, and this jealousy produced an act of Parliament, to prohibit the exportation of woollen manufactures from this kingdom, and even of wooll itself, and woollen yarn, excepting to *England*. Concerning the policy or justice of this act, it is not to my present purpose to enquire; but it is certainly the business of this nation, since they are cramped in that branch of trade, to turn their lands

to some other sort of profit, on which no embargo has been laid. We depend, Sir, on *England*, without whose protection, we shou'd infallibly become the despicable vassals of a civil and religious tyranny. We shou'd therefore consider every rival of the *English* trade, as our enemy. But the clandestine supplies of wooll, by which we enable the *Dutch* and *French* to wrest the profits of that trade out of the hands of *England*, are little better, in effect, than impoverishing ourselves by a misapplication of our lands, in order to undermine the *English*, who are our friends, and enrich the *French*, who deserve scarcely any other name from us than that of our enemies. We know the *English* can ruin us if they please; but that, instead of so doing, they give all possible encouragement to our linen trade, and in other things might be still kinder to us, did we not foolishly affect a separate interest from them, and endeavour to play away their trade, and our own lands, into the hands of our common enemies.

We are not quite so cramp't in respect to the trade on the produce of black cattle. Yet by a piece of our own ill management, a mischief arises, much resembling the effects of the law just now mentioned. As we have not leave to export our manufactured wooll, so for want of bark, we cannot tann the hides of the cattle we slaughter, and so lose one of the chief profits arising from black cattle. Our prodigals have, every where, destroyed our woods; our Drovers, with their sheep and oxen, keep the country clear of ditches, and consequently of timber. By these means, vast sums go every year out of the kingdom for bad Fir from *Norway*, and worse Oak from *America*, and we have no bark to make leather, even for our own use. This is making the most of an evil, and contriving matters so cunningly, that the one folly plays into the hand of the other. If an enemy had schemed this system of folly for us, it cou'd not have been more skillfully put together.

Now

Now, Sir, if Tillage were duly encouraged, we shou'd soon be crouded with inhabitants, and manufactures wou'd thrive apace; out of which, in a little time, great revenues wou'd arise; and these revenues wou'd help greatly to bear the expences of the three nations, considered as making one body. *Ireland* wou'd then be rich in itself, and become a military nursery to support the glory of the *English* arms, while all things wou'd be kept quiet and safe at home.

But on the contrary, shou'd grazing prevail, and spread itself into those parts where Tillage is now practised, and manufactures begin to flourish, the island wou'd become a desert; man must give way and make room for brutes. A few wretches, indeed, wou'd stay to wait on the tails of cows and sheep, and so the whole kingdom wou'd in a little while, become a pretty green spot, a grass farm for it's neighbours. Now and then perhaps a collector, instead of a Lord-Lieutenant, might be sent over from *France* or *England*, according as the farm might happen to change it's landlord, to take the tributary fleeces, in time of sheep-sheering. The neighbouring nations, in their histories, wou'd say, that *Ireland* was once peopled; but it was with fools, for whom their cattle, proving too politic and powerful, drove them out of the island.

I am afraid, Sir, I have already tr. spassed too far upon your patience; and shall not therefore stay to be particular in telling you, what care the Ancients took in all well-regulated states, to have the lands tilled, and grain produced in abundance, how among the *Affyrians* and *Persians*, the governor of a well-cultivated province, was rewarded, and that in which Tillage was neglected, brought punishment and disgrace on it's Satrap; how the *Indians* set a-part an whole tribe for Tillage, that the art might be the more effectually improved; how the *Greeks* and *Romans* made many and wise laws to encourage and enforce agriculture, and appointed rewards and punishments for that purpose; neither shall I trouble you

with the names of above fifty eminent *Greek* writers, who laboured in this important subject, and whom you may see reckoned up by *Varro*. Several of the most learned and judicious among the *Romans*, tho' a people so naturally turned to war, such as *Cato*, *Varro*, and *Columella*, handled it with great skill and accuracy. The greatest geniuses in poetry, such as *Hesiod*, *Menecrates* and *Virgil*, adorned it with the most excellent embellishments of their art. Even Kings and Princes, for instance, *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, *Attalus* of *Pergamus*, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, and *Mago* the *Carthaginian* general, employed their pens on Tillage, a subject of infinite consequence to their people. Some perhaps may think it strange, that men so highly dignified by genius or employment, shou'd stoop to such a subject. But we shou'd consider, that nothing is absolutely necessary to the lives of men, and the welfare of a country, can be mean, or below the care of a wise or great man.

Besides, such men only can make improvements in any art. Uneducated people are ignorant and slow of thought. The husbandman, in particular, is always taken up with doing, rather than considering what ought to be done. Men of understanding and fortune are the only persons, who have sense, substance, and leisure to make experiments, and invent instruments for the improvement of husbandry. They shou'd therefore set themselves diligently to the business, that they might become useful teachers to their tenants. They shou'd read, travel, and make experiments for this purpose. If they set a-part a portion of their demesnes for Tillage, that piece of ground wou'd answer the end of a little experimental academy, where Agriculture might be learned, and the visible success would recommend the theory. Out of such a spot of ground they would derive amusement and health, and wou'd render husbandry fashionable among their tenants and neighbours.

The *English* have demonstrated a wise and close attention to Agriculture, as may appear from the several

veral laws made for its encouragement in the reigns of their wisest Princes. The earth has been grateful for their care; it has produced immense riches and men invincible in war.

But, to our shame be it spoken, we have little considered this matter, till of late, that some persons, somewhat more awake to our interest, than the rest, have begun to rouse the nation to some concern about it.

The ingenious *Arthur Dobbs*, Esq; employed great care, and a good understanding in this cause about fifteen years ago.

The querist, whose understanding in the interest of the nation, and every thing else, is beyond all encomiums, among a great variety of useful hints, has furnished the public with some most judicious ones on the subject of Tillage.

The author of the book intitled, *Considerations and Resolutions*, &c. has done prodigious service by that performance, not only to the design of plowing our grounds, but to many other schemes for the public interest. But his præmiums, proposed in his letter to the *Dublin Society*, to which he put his hand, as well as his pen, have given some motion and life to a spirit of husbandry, which before that was only wished for.

Several members of the *Dublin Society* have touched very judiciously, and instructively on some branches of Agriculture: In 1738 a very good pamphlet was published, intitled a treatise on Tillage, and inscribed to the Parliament. It is well worth your reading; but the computation concerning the comparative profits of Tillage and grazing, happening to be defective, has led the author into the capital mistake, mentioned already, of allowing the private advantage to be on the side of Pasturage, at the same time that he asserts the public interest lies in Tillage.

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A very useful paper was published this last summer, called, a proposal for lowering the price of bread-corn, in which the sense of the *English*, in former times, is shewn by several well-chosen quotations, and a short but sensible account of the Granaries in *Switzerland* is communicated to the public.

Some years ago an act was made to enforce the Tillage of five acres in the hundred, which had it been regarded, even as a piece of good advice, not to say, revered as a law, the experiments, made here and there in consequence of it, wou'd have quite determined the controversy about Tillage before this time.

This affair was also recommended from the Throne to the further care of both houses of Parliament, at the beginning, if I mistake not, of the last session.

And now again, at the opening of this session, his Grace the Lord Lieutenant has pressed it anew, and the honourable house of Commons have promised a warm and vigorous attention to it.

Tillage, in short, has been the constant cry, for a good many years past, of all the wise and compassionate part of the nation. But our late famines and mortalities, I hope, have now raised this cry to such a loudness, as no ear can be deaf to, nor no heart insensible of.

It is high time Sir to remove the infamous reproach of idleness, stupidity, and beggary, so justly thrown on us by all our neighbouring nations, to enjoy the fertility of our own lands, and to find a profitable employment for a poor unhappy people, hitherto useless, distressed, and starved. We have great numbers of people, but they do nothing; and a most fruitful soil, but it bears only grass. Our people die by thousands for meer want of bread, on one of the richest soils in the world. This is a shameful Paradox. Tell it not in *England*, publish it not in *Holland*.

Were an *Hollander*, inquiring about our country, told that *Ireland* lying in a temperate climate, has, generally

generally speaking a most fertile soil, in many places navigable rivers, on all sides convenient harbours, a prodigious abundance of both fresh and salt-water fish, firing for little or nothing, and many other articles of natural wealth, which most countries are destitute of; and besides all, has enjoyed an uninterrupted peace for upwards of 53 years, he would immediately conclude, that *Ireland* must be one of the most populous, and wealthy countries in the world.

But shou'd he be told, that, instead of being populous, one half on't can hardly be said to be inhabited, and yet that its inhabitants have little or nothing to do, and are starving for want of bread; that it is oftner visited with famine, than any other country under heaven, and every famine attended as a natural and necessary consequence, with a pestilence that sweeps away its inhabitants in prodigious numbers, who also crowd out to *America*, and elsewhere, so fast, that it is in danger of being unpeopled in a little time; that as to its wealth, it is one of the poorest countries in the world; were he told all this, he would then ask from whence proceeded a distress so unaccountable?

If we told him the infamous truth, that as to trade, excepting in the one branch of the linen manufacture, it is wholly neglected; that we set apart all our worst grounds, our northern and mountainous lands, for Tillage, and keep our rich plains for grazing either bullocks, because we have not bark to tann our hides, or sheep, because we are forbid to export our wool manufactured; that we are satisfied to take claret, currants, raisins, olives, and *French* leases for our beef; that we think it nearer to go to *England* or even to *America* for corn, than to the ground we tread on; that our gentlemen of estates wou'd rather set their lands to bullocks and sheep at seven shillings per acre, than to men at fifteen, or twenty; that, instead of spending their money at home, and endeavouring to improve their estates, where they might be almost adored, they lavish it a way

way about the *English* court, where they are laughed at as a poor brainless sort of people, and treated with insufferable contempt; that in consequence of our idleness and want of provisions, the industrious few are forced to maintain, at least, four times their number of people, who do nothing at all, of whom about fifty thousand go constantly a begging, and are very careful to breed up their children to thievery; were he told all this, his wonder at our poverty would quickly cease, or rather would be changed into surprize that any people could possibly be so foolish, and so infatuated. He might probably ask, if a remedy for such evils was ever thought of; and if we should tell him that always in time of scarcity and pestilence, every one cries out for Pillage and Granaries; but as soon as ever the winds, on which we depend for bread have brought relief, not a soul ever thinks of Pillage or Granaries again; if this were told him, how would he be astonished!

Just as I was going to conclude this tedious letter, a friend, who is well acquainted with trade, both as it respects the private dealer and the nation, and from whom I had several very judicious hints, particularly the computation of the expences and labour of a farmer's family, entered my room with a paper in his hand; which, upon perusal, I found contained a thought so extremely agreeable in itself, and so proper to illustrate and inforce all I have been saying, that I could not help inserting it.

I shall suppose, says my friend, that two landed gentlemen, one from the *North*, and the other from the *South* of *Ireland*, do discover, somewhere to the rest of this kingdom, two islands, and take possession as sovereigns and proprietors of said islands. The soil of both is the same, and they differ not in any other respect, save that the island, seized by the southern gentlemen, contains 3000 acres, the other but 2000. Each of these proprietors to make the most of his island, sets it off to tenants, the southern gentlemen to three grazers, those being the most solvent sort of tenants

nants in his native country, and the northern gentlemen to forty husbandmen at fifty acres to a farm.

Now as grazers cannot make more than 20*s.* per acre out of midling ground, and as such tenants, as are able to stock 1000 acres of land, will not take land at so high a rent, as poorer men would, the southern proprietor is obliged to set his land to the three grazers at ten shillings per acre, and for 20 years.

On the other hand, the northern proprietor, tho' he knows that such tenants, as take small farms, in order to Tillage, can be had in great numbers to cant for his land, and that an acre of ground in oats only, at 4*s.* and 8*d.* per barrel will produce above 4*l.* yet being willing to give some encouragement to industrious people from the neighbouring countries, to come and settle in his island, he sets his small farms at 10*s.* by the acre, and for the term of 20 years.

Let us suppose that each of these proprietors reserves to himself a spot of ground, lying convenient to some creek or bay, sufficient to build a little town on, where boats may come in with necessaries, and take off the superfluous commodities, subject to some custom or duty.

The island of pasture, yielding yearly the sum of 3000*l.* gives it's proprietor 1500*l.* and each of the three grazers 500*l.* it's whole produce, for 20 years, will amount to 60,000*l.*

If only one half of the corn island is tilled, and sowed with oats, it's annual produce will be 4000*l.* out of which the landlord receiving a 1000*l.* each of the 40 farmers has 75*l.* for his own share. The whole produce of the cultivated half only, for 20 years, will amount to 80,000*l.* the other half that is grazed by milch and plow cattle, producing only a 1000*l.* a year, yields in 20 years 20,000*l.* which being shared intirely among the 40 tenants, will go near to defray all their expences in living, so that each may save almost his whole 75*l.* yearly.

Thus it appears how grazers come to make so great fortunes, and at whose expence; and how farming comes

comes to be despised, because no body makes an overgrown fortune by it in a few years.

But let us return to our islands, says my friend, and let us see in what condition they are now, at the expiration of the 20 years.

The island of pasture is no worse.

But the island of corn is a great deal better. Many houses are built, ditches made, orchards, and hedge-rows planted, lands drained, coarse grounds reclaimed, and some Artizans brought in, housewifery at the same time and manufactures are begun.

The island of pasture has better hunting, better fowling, and is less disturbed with noise and bustle, than the corn island. It's inhabitants are also double the number they were at first.

The food of the poor in the island of corn, is bread, beef, butter, milk, pottage, flumery, &c.

The food of the poor, in the island of pasture, is butter-milk, curds, sorrel, nettles, watergrass, and by way of delicacy, in the bleeding and slaughtering seasons, boil'd blood.

The one sort of people are free, and full of heart, the other are cowardly slaves. The posterity of the one is bred to labour, that of the other to idleness. These make useful members of society, those make thieves and beggars. These boldly defend their property, those have no property, and durst not defend it if they had.

But let us now suppose both islands to be set again.

The island of pasture, admitting of no improvement, is just as it was at first. The grazers families however, being doubled, they must live more poorly than they did. And the families of their herds being also doubled, and consequently there being employment only for one half of them, the other half, must either beg, steal, and starve at home, or else must go over to the corn island for work, and victuals. As the grazers may have saved money, they will be under the less necessity of taking their land at an advanced rent. And as for their herds, as they cou'd save nothing, so they have no stock, and consequently can propose for no land.

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The proprietor therefore must be satisfied with his old rent.

In the island of corn great improvements having been made, it's land being better laboured by the increase of the inhabitants, and the occasion of hands from the other island, and consequently it's crops being much better, its farms having convenient houses, and other accommodations for tenants, it's manufactures beginning to bring in to the farmers near as much as the produce of their ground, and merchants growing rich by the exportation of such grain and manufactures as can be spared, and trade having produced a town where tenements set for twenty times the rent of other lands, the proprietor can scarce fail of getting 20s. an acre, one with another, for his ground. Thus his rent will amount to 2000*l.* yearly, and the duties on exports, which foreigners always pay, will arise to a considerable sum besides. The timber also, which the ditches will produce, will now begin to bring him in some profit; so that we may fairly allow him to receive out of his little island, during the term of the second leases, the yearly sum of 2500*l.*

As to the inhabitants of his island, as they are now increased to 80 families of farmers, besides Artizans, they will certainly cant up his lands to an high value; so that he may be secure of such a rent as I have allowed him. And as to themselves, they will have great abundance of wealth, tho' divided among many hands. We cannot suppose all the hands of the island to be altogether and always employed in labouring the land. One fifth part of them will be sufficient for that purpose, and the rest, as they came from the *North of Ireland*, and brought the knowledge of the linen trade with them, will certainly fall to the flaxen manufacture. In this kind of business every 8 pounds of flax which at 6*d.* per pound costs only 4*s.* will sell out again, in 20 yards of linen, for 1, 2, or 3 pounds. Other manufactures for exportation will also be made, so that the wealth, brought in by corn, will be but small in comparison of that which will accrue from wares, and merchandize

chandize of one kind or another. Thus, by the expiration of the second 20 years, the wealth of the two islands will bear no proportion to each other. The manufactures will produce twice the profits of the Tillage, and the whole wealth arising out of and acquired by the inhabitants of the little island, besides paying the proprietor his rent and taxes, will in twenty years, from the commencement of the new leases, amount to between 2 and 300,000 l.

All this time the island of pasture is at a stand. It's inhabitants, as they increased; removed to the little island, and are lost for ever to their native country. And it's beef, wooll, &c. have been carried out to foreign countries by the shipping of the little island, which by that means has run away with a large share of the profits arising out of those commodities, when carried to foreign markets.

In process of time the inhabitants of the little island having learnt the art of war, as necessary for the defence of their possessions, and their Sovereign growing ambitious, upon some dispute arising between him, and his neighbouring proprietor of the large island, he will make war upon him, and with great ease take his island from him.

See here Sir in this just and fair parallel drawn up by my friend, the different effects of grazing and Tillage, so demonstrably proving, and so agreeably illustrating the whole tenour of this letter.

Having heartily tired you Sir, and my self on this very important topick, I shall now take leave of it, wishing that I cou'd either put you into a method of improving your fortune, or defending your country from the terrible calamities of famine and pestilence, and assuring you that I am Sir with all imaginable respect,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

TRIPTOLEMUS.

ERRATUM.

In the Motto of the Title Page, for *Russia* read *Rustica*.

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